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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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REPORT NO. [REDACTED]

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DATE DISTR. 28 Sept. 1955

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REFERENCES:

COUNTRY Hungary

SUBJECT Hungarian Resistance Potential

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Possible Active ResistanceDistribution of Anti-Regime Leaflets

1. [REDACTED] while at a party, source was shown an anti-regime propaganda leaflet which was called the "Twelve Demands". Source claimed that all those present reacted favorably to the pamphlet and that their general impression was that the pamphlet must have been printed in Budapest.

2. [REDACTED] pamphlet. After source discussed and described it, [REDACTED] that the pamphlet had possibly been printed in Budapest.

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Possible Underground Organization in Budapest

3. During a conversation, source heard vague references made to an unidentified underground organization, of about 500 members, believed to be located in Budapest. A friend told source that she had also heard of such an organization.

Newspaper Article Claiming to Promote Communism

4. In November 1954, Esti Budapest printed an article titled "I Hate", "Hatred", or a similar theme. In the article, an editor of the newspaper wrote as though he were a disgruntled capitalist who hated Communism because of the detrimental effects Communism has had on the continued success of his exploitation of the ordinary workers. The introductory paragraphs of the article reviewed the Soviet Army's atrocities in Budapest during World War II and included references about the failings of current Communist Party and regime propaganda. With each following paragraph, the writer referred to the increasing oppression of capitalists by the Soviets. The article ended with a statement to

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the effect that the writer must return to his residence and write his reports on conditions in Hungary for his Western Voice of America bosses. The entire article was written in such a way that the punch line, indicating that only the capitalists opposed the Communists and oppressed the workers, was delivered only at the end of the article.

5. Within one hour after the newspaper hit the streets, citizens of Budapest became so enthusiastic about the article that Party officials became suspicious and realized that the article's entire meaning was "misconstrued". All copies of the newspaper at newsstands were immediately confiscated. The local population accepted the article with enthusiasm because except for the punch line at the end of the article the other paragraphs reflected the true picture of Soviet oppression and showed the true feelings of the Hungarian population. Although the newspaper originally cost only 60 fillers, it was common knowledge that as much as 100 forints had been paid for original copies of the article. The complete article was later allegedly reproduced by private persons and was well circulated among the population.

A Theatrical Play Which Misfired

6. In January 1954, the Hungarian National Theater in Budapest presented a stage play entitled "Ubornkafa" ("The Cucumber Tree" which is a Hungarian reference to the "new rich") in which the roles played by the positive (pro-Communist doctrine) characters were not as well played as those of the "negative" (anti-Communist doctrine) characters. The play itself was typical of all Communist-inspired and Communist-sponsored performances. However, it was a great success and each performance was enthusiastically attended because, due to the miscasting and poor direction, the audience left the theater with the belief that they had seen a realistic play. The "negative" characters made so much better an impression than the "positive" characters that the meaning of the drama had been reversed. After about five performances, the parts had to be rewritten and the drama restaged so that the play would present the theme in accordance with Party doctrine. However, even after these changes, the population attended the play in great numbers and continued to receive the same impressions.

Orozy tér Incident in Budapest

7. In September or October 1954, in the vicinity of Orozy tér in Budapest, a spontaneous demonstration took place because of the eviction of a pregnant employee of the Budapest Capital Streetcar Company (BSZKRT) from her residence.
8. [redacted] the woman had been living in a former shop with her two children and that the local police were attempting to evict her in order to utilize her residence for the proposed enlargement of a neighboring State food store.
9. When the woman began to cry and scream at the police, the employees of the nearby streetcar company terminus and repair shop left their work and went to her aid. Within a very short time, at least several hundred persons gathered in the area and demonstrated against the eviction. This group was bolstered by the arrival of other nearby factory employees and, for nine hours, the mob continued to shout its dissatisfaction with the police action and hindered the police from evicting the woman. Source claimed that one female streetcar conductor refused police orders to drive her streetcar through the crowd in order to break up the demonstration.

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10. The demonstration was broken up only after the arrival of large groups of civil police and the arrest of many demonstrators. Afterwards, the streetcar employees returned to their place of work but refused to work. This strike resulted in the arrest of other employees of this state enterprise and among those confined was the local factory Communist Party secretary.
11. After the demonstration, the Communist Party held a meeting in the area of the BSZKRT and Orozy tér where the incident was explained and the woman was defamed. Communist Party representatives reprimanded the workers for their demonstration and claimed that the woman had been a notorious streetwalker who used her living quarters for only indecent purposes. Party representatives also stressed the fact that the space was needed to meet the needs of the "people" for the enlargement of the neighboring State food store. It was rumored that three days after the demonstration, the woman was evicted from her residence without further incident.

Riot Caused by Loss of 1954 World Football Championship

12. In July 1954, immediately after the announcement by the Budapest radio station that Hungary's football team had been defeated by the West German team in the world championship series in Switzerland, crowds gathered at the Budapest railroad station and paraded along the streets in the area, breaking store windows and shouting remarks against the Hungarian Sports Minister, Sebes, and the Hungarian football team captain, Puskas. In between these dissatisfied remarks, repeated praise for Kocsis, Budai, and Csibor, the popular members of the Hungarian football team, could be heard.
13. The next day at 2130 hours, at least 2,000 youth marched up Stalin ut towards Szabadsag tér. At that time, about 15 civil policemen ran out of the local police building and charged the crowd but used no weapons. After the police attack, the shouting of the crowd changed from insults against individuals to general remarks against the regime and the police. The police were then recalled and the crowd continued on to the National Gymnastic and Sports Committee building (OTSB), breaking store windows and burning pictures of national sport leaders.
14. On the third day of the riot, the police began to arrest the demonstrators. By the time the riot was broken up, it was rumored that almost 10,000 individuals had been arrested and that many had been sentenced to six months in jail for "attacking the police".
15. The demonstration lasted for three days and three nights. The entire incident came about because the Hungarian people believed that the Hungarian team could have won the world football championship if Sebes had not forbidden "reactionary" members of the team to play in the final match.

Demonstration at European Artistic Ice Skating Championship Meet

16. In January 1955, at the European Artistic Ice Skating Championship meet held in Budapest, a demonstration resulted from popular dissatisfaction with the manner in which the officials controlled the entrance of the spectators into the arena. The crowds voiced their disapproval loudly and broke into the entrance control lines but were dispersed only after many arrests. These individuals were charged with "uttering remarks against the regime". [redacted] attended this sports event and claimed that from conversations and remarks made by the civil police sent into the arena to break up the demonstration [redacted] the civil police were in sympathy with the demonstrators.

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Attitudes Towards Other Ethnic GroupsAnti-Semitism

17. In 1952 and 1953, just after the arrest of Beria in the USSR and many Jewish doctors in Hungary, a meeting was held at the WFDY headquarters in Budapest where an announcement was made stating that further use of the familiar personal address in conversation between Hungarian employees of the office was prohibited. The reason for this change in policy, as expressed by the WFDY officials, was to counteract the effect of such usage which has become recognized as the regular form of address within the Hungarian Zionist movement.

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18. In general, most workers and peasants openly showed their anti-Semitic feelings through insulting remarks made daily to persons of the Jewish faith. This sentiment had always been prevalent in Hungary and [redacted] the basis for this current dislike of Jews was the individual jealousy of the economic successes of the Jews in small business since World War II. [redacted] anti-Semitic feelings were openly expressed even in WFDY headquarters, although many of its employees were Jewish.

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Anti-Soviet Sentiment

19. Throughout Hungary, a very strong anti-Soviet feeling was also widespread but this feeling was expressed only passively. The population refused to greet known Soviets to such an extent that even Hungarians who worked daily with the Soviets refused to exchange ordinary greetings. Ordinarily, all attempts to further Hungarian-Soviet relationship failed and the average Hungarian continued to avoid as much as possible contact with Soviet citizens; the Hungarian also attempted to show his disfavor of the Soviet regime by ostracism of its subjects. The Hungarian, a keen sports enthusiast, relished showing his disfavor of the Soviet Union by refusing to recognize Soviet athletic prowess in sporting competition and by favoring the sport team not associated with the USSR or the Hungarian regime in all athletic events.

20.

[redacted] source came in contact with approximately 45 Russians of white Russian origin who had been expelled from Yugoslavia after Tito's break with the USSR. These individuals were employed as clerks, laborers, librarians, and language teachers. From conversations with them, source learned that there was a colony of several hundred White Russians who lived in Budapest under extremely poor conditions; the majority of these persons were employed and lived in the shipyard area. At political meetings, it was not uncommon for these White Russians to make pro-regime remarks. However, source was convinced that none of these individuals were actually favorable to the Communist regime in Hungary nor had been favorable to the Tito regime in Yugoslavia; none was known to be a Communist Party member. In general, this group was very uncommunicative, reserved, and meek.

21. Source believed that this minority group did not attempt to adjust itself to Hungarian life. [redacted] although many of the employees [redacted] could be classified as intellectuals, none made any attempt to learn the Hungarian language. [redacted] why these individuals had been expelled from Yugoslavia, and they only mentioned that their life in Yugoslavia had been very difficult and that they could not return to the USSR. Source believed that none of them had the right to become a Hungarian citizen.

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50X1 Anti-Rumanian Sentiment

22. Throughout Hungary, there was a strong anti-Rumanian sentiment. [redacted] this sentiment resulted from the ill-treatment of Hungarian residents by the Rumanians in the Transylvania area since World War I. [redacted] during the World Youth Festival in Bucharest in 1952, the Rumanians displayed their ill-feeling for the Hungarians to such an extent that the Hungarian WFDY Delegation protested against the adverse housing and facilities provided them in comparison with those provided for the delegations from other nations.

Attitude of Regime Towards Religion

23. With respect to the elementary schools (teaching pupils from 7 to 14 years of age), no overt attitude in the schools was expressed by the regime regarding religious instruction. However, the class teacher had to attend each class of religious instruction as an observer. It was also known that the parents of all students attending these classes were contacted by either the class teacher or the schoolmaster and requested not to send their children to these classes. However, the class teacher or schoolmaster-contact with parents was a routine procedure and was not very effective in decreasing religious instruction attendance since the majority of the teachers did not rigidly attempt to discourage religious instruction. [redacted] no punitive action ever taken against students attending religious instruction in the schools. 50X1
24. After the arrests of Cardinal Mindszenty, Bishop Grosz, and Abbot Endredy, there was a large increase in church attendance throughout Hungary. This was a means of showing popular dissatisfaction with the regime's anti-Catholic program. [redacted] church attendance was still as large as immediately after the arrests. 50X1

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